



Security Council

Seventieth year

Provisional

7383rd meeting

Tuesday, 17 February 2015, 10 a.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Liu Jieyi	(China)
Members:	Angola	Mr. Gaspar Martins
	Chad	Mr. Mangaral
	Chile	Mr. Barros Melet
	France	Mr. Lamek
	Jordan	Mr. Hmoud
	Lithuania	Mrs. Jakubonė
	Malaysia	Mrs. Adnin
	New Zealand	Mr. McLay
	Nigeria	Mr. Laro
	Russian Federation	Mr. Churkin
	Spain	Mr. Oyarzun Marchesi
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland ...	Mr. Wilson
	United States of America	Ms. Sison
	Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)	Mr. Ramírez Carreño

Agenda

The situation concerning Iraq

Fifth report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 4 of Security Council resolution 2107 (2013) (S/2015/70)

Second report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 6 of resolution 2169 (2014) (S/2015/82)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the translation of speeches delivered in other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room U-0506 (verbatimrecords@un.org). Corrected records will be reissued electronically on the Official Document System of the United Nations (<http://documents.un.org>).

15-04201 (E)



Accessible document

Please recycle



The meeting was called to order at 10.10 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning Iraq

Fifth report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 4 of Security Council resolution 2107 (2013) (S/2015/70)

Second report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 6 of resolution 2169 (2014) (S/2015/82)

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): In accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representative of Iraq to participate in this meeting.

In accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Mr. Nickolay Mladenov, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq, to participate in this meeting.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

I wish to draw the attention of Council members to document S/2015/70, which contains the fifth report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 4 of Security Council resolution 2107 (2013). I also wish to draw the attention of Council members to document S/2015/82, the second report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 6 of resolution 2169 (2014).

Before giving the floor to Mr. Mladenov, I would like to take this opportunity, given that this will be his final briefing to the Council as Special Representative and Head of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq, to thank him for his exceptional service. The Council wishes him every success as he transitions to his new role as Special Coordinator for the Middle East Peace Process and Personal Representative of the Secretary-General to the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Palestinian Authority, and we look forward to continuing to work with him in that capacity.

I now give the floor to Mr. Mladenov.

Mr. Mladenov: I have the honour to present the second report of the Secretary-General (S/2015/82) pursuant to paragraph 6 of resolution 2169 (2014), as well

as the fifth report of the Secretary-General (S/2015/70) pursuant to paragraph 4 of resolution 2107 (2013) on the issue of missing Kuwaiti and third-country nationals, and missing Kuwaiti property.

As I complete my tenure as the Secretary-General's Special Representative for Iraq, to borrow a phrase, I remain a paranoid optimist — an optimist because, despite the year-long security crisis, Iraq's political, community and religious leaders have coalesced to save their country from terror. Today more than ever, there is a growing understanding that Iraq can move forward only on the basis of the principles of democracy, the rule of law, respect for diversity and inclusivity. This understanding has been increasingly evident since the formation of a national unity Government set on addressing many long-standing concerns of the Iraqi people. I am, however, also paranoid that things may go wrong. The Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) remains in control of most of Iraq's western provinces; the fragile efforts towards unity and reconciliation need to be carefully nurtured if they are to bear fruit; while the economy has been hit by falling oil prices and skyrocketing security costs.

Since its formation in September 2014, the Government has taken important steps in fulfilling its agenda. It has engaged countries of the region, all with a view to regaining the confidence of Iraq's population in the political process and promoting stability. While pursuing these objectives, Iraq's most pressing goal remains to win back territory taken by ISIL. In that respect, the Government has taken important measures for security sector reform. The authorities have pledged to provide military and financial assistance to local leaders and tribal fighters to aid their struggle against ISIL. Since the beginning of the year, at least 4,000 Iraqis from Anbar and Ninewa have signed up as part of the popular mobilization force — an important first step in securing local forces for the liberation of Iraq's western provinces.

I encourage the Government to empower and quickly provide all necessary means to these local fighters as they seek to free their homes from ISIL, while also supporting recovery and reconstruction. I also encourage the Council of Representatives to adopt the necessary legislation to establish the Iraqi national guard so as to allow the provinces to take greater responsibility for their own security. In January, the Government submitted to Parliament a bill to that effect.

An exclusively military solution to the problem of ISIL is impossible; indeed, it would be counterproductive. I therefore welcome the consistent calls for unity by the President, the Prime Minister and the Speaker of Parliament. Any effort to achieve unity through reconciliation must be based on the Constitution and the principles of inclusivity, with the full participation of political, religious and community leaders from across Iraq. A particular focus must also be placed on increasing the role and participation of women. As such, the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI) has strongly supported the Government's national reconciliation and social cohesion agenda.

Recently, we convened in Baghdad a round table on social cohesion with prominent Iraqi political, religious and civil society representatives, who discussed the causes of recommendations that were presented to the Government. Subsequently, the United Nations convened round tables in Karbala and Basra, bringing together local leaders. During these meetings, participants reiterated the importance of strengthening social and religious cohesion, as well as of rectifying divisions within Iraqi society. The United Nations Development Programme is also expanding its community reconciliation initiative at the grass-roots level.

In addition to these developments, relations between the federal Government and the Kurdistan Regional Government have improved following their historic agreement on energy exports and revenue-sharing. Improved cooperation is also evident between the Iraqi security forces, the Peshmerga, volunteers, local communities and the forces of the anti-ISIL international coalition. This cooperation has been key in dealing with the most recent security threats, including to the city of Kirkuk, the Ein Al-Assad air base and elsewhere in the country.

Despite these positive steps, the process is fraught with risks. Armed conflict and acts of terrorism continue to inflict a terrible toll on the people of Iraq. In 2014, at least 12,000 civilians were killed and over 23,000 injured. In January this year alone, there were over 2,200 civilian casualties, including 790 killed and some 1,500 injured. Almost daily terrorist attacks continue to deliberately target all Iraqis — most notably from the Shiite community, as well as from ethnic and religious minorities — across the country. The continued reports of massive human rights violations and abuses being

committed by ISIL against civilians are gruesome. ISIL has made a point of not hesitating to openly publicize its crimes committed against men, women and children. The safety and security of members of Iraq's diverse ethnic and religious communities in areas controlled by ISIL — particularly the thousands of women and children who remain in captivity — remain of grave concern. Equally worrying is the increasing number of reports of revenge attacks committed particularly against members of the Sunni community in areas liberated from ISIL control.

All of these ongoing human rights violations present a serious threat to the cohesion of Iraq. Some of Iraq's recent military gains in Diyala, Salah al-Din and Ninewa governorates have been marred by claims that militias have killed unarmed civilians and intentionally destroyed property and places of worship. It is imperative that the Government act swiftly and decisively to bring under control all armed groups that are outside of the Constitution. Failing to do so risks undermining the much-needed process of national unity and reconciliation. Political parties, however, should also show restraint in their statements in the face of such acts, which are clearly aimed at destroying Iraq's social fabric.

It is in that respect that I welcome the Government's decision to conduct a full investigation into the alleged massacres in Diyala province. To paraphrase Prime Minister al-Abadi, a crime is a crime, no matter who has committed it, and all responsible should be held accountable. It is also encouraging that, as we speak today, Iraq's President, Prime Minister and Speaker of Parliament are holding a joint meeting to identify measures to address the events of recent days.

The Government faces the additional challenge of a very fiscally constrained environment. In a hallmark of success in January, the Council of Representatives approved the 2015 budget. Despite very tight spending limits due to the fall in oil revenue, spiralling security costs and an massively expanded public sector wage bill, Parliament was able to set aside some \$500 million to help rebuild lives and livelihoods in those areas that are liberated from ISIL. The United Nations is working actively with the authorities to set up a recovery and reconstruction fund through which Iraq's allies, neighbours and friends can contribute to this process as well.

Most urgently perhaps, the Iraqi authorities and the United Nations need to redouble our efforts in

supporting over 2 million internally displaced persons (IDPs) who have been forced from their homes since January 2014. Let me recall for the Council the gravity of the situation on the ground by highlighting some numbers. Some 5.2 million people need humanitarian assistance in Iraq today, of whom 2.25 million are displaced and 235,000 are refugees from the conflict in Syria. To date, the population of the Kurdistan region has increased by some 30 per cent because of the influx. Despite the generosity of local communities across the country, one-third of IDPs in accessible areas are living in unfinished and abandoned buildings, makeshift shelters and spontaneous settlements. They are highly vulnerable and dependent on assistance to survive.

Let me sound the alarm bell. Sixty per cent of humanitarian operations in Iraq are likely to shut down or be curtailed unless funding is received in the next few weeks. The food pipeline will break in mid-May unless funding is received before the end of March. The essential medicines pipeline will break at the end of March. The United Nations humanitarian country team, led by newly appointed Humanitarian Coordinator Lise Grande, has put together a list of fast-track priorities that cannot be postponed or ignored. We urgently need approximately \$150 million to support IDPs, whose life-saving protection needs are enormous and likely to grow. I take this opportunity to appeal to the international community in that regard, at a time when Iraq is highly vulnerable and when support for the humanitarian operation will make a decisive difference in the direction of the country.

As I conclude my mission in Iraq I would like to send a message to the Government of Iraq to encourage it to move swiftly on the full implementation of the ministerial programme and the political agreement. Those documents hold the key to seeing Iraq successfully move forward. Discussions on approving the necessary legislation for a national guard should be swiftly finalized. That is important in order to empower provinces to take more responsibility for their own security. It will also help ensure that all weapons are firmly under the control of the State. Most important, the Government should act decisively to rebuild the armed forces on a truly national basis.

Part of the political agreement that has been the basis for the formation of the Government is to grant amnesty and to revise the justice and accountability law in order to allow Iraqis who have not committed crimes under the brutal regime of Saddam Al-Hussein

to move forward with their lives and find their place in their country.

While tackling the security and political challenges, the social and economic agenda must also remain in focus. Addressing pockets of deep poverty, particularly in the south of the country, providing quality social services, providing a business climate for investors, fighting pervasive corruption and, perhaps most urgent, facilitating the return of displaced persons to their homes and rebuilding areas liberated from ISIL — all such policies are all key to social peace in Iraq. I also take this opportunity to assure the people and the Government of Iraq that the United Nations will continue to provide international assistance and expertise in that process.

Let me turn briefly to the fifth report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 4 of resolution 2107 (2013), on the issue of missing Kuwaiti and third-country nationals and on property.

Iraq-Kuwait relations continue to be on the ascendant. High-level Iraqi visits and the results of the fourth Joint Ministerial Committee meeting are very encouraging. Kuwait's consulates in Basra and Erbil, when opened, will take Iraq-Kuwait relations to the next level.

I wish that I could report similar progress to the Council on the missing Kuwaitis and the Kuwaiti national archives since the previous report (S/2014/776). The Kuwaiti Government and people are understandably disappointed that nothing tangible has been achieved for many years now. UNAMI shares their disappointment. We have placed much emphasis on witnesses and continue to emphasise that the most modern scientific advances and technology should be utilized. A UNAMI-identified witness travelled recently to Kuwait during the reporting period. That visit, for which UNAMI and the Iraqi Government had worked hard, regrettably did not yield anything substantial. Time remains our most formidable foe. Our team is working to reach another witness, who has been overseas and who Kuwait believes holds the key to identifying a gravesite that may contain as many as 180 mortal remains.

Let me assure the Council and the families of the Kuwaiti missing persons that the United Nations will continue to do its utmost to fulfil its mandate. Nonetheless, the key to achieving tangible progress is primarily in the hands of the parties themselves. The

goodwill between Kuwait and Iraq is at its highest since 1990. I believe that this is a very opportune moment for their respective leaderships to come together on this important humanitarian issue, review efforts so far and decide on a new course of action. Resources, technology and a fresh approach may all be required. As always, UNAMI stands ready to support that process.

As I conclude my tenure as the Secretary-General's Special Representative for Iraq, let me say, on a more personal level, how humbled I have been by the people of the country. For decades they have lived with dictatorship, conflict and terrorism, yet they persist in their determination to build a democratic State. Generations have been scarred and brought up in fear — fear of oppression, fear for their future, fear for their lives. Iraqi society has been deeply scarred and will take a long time to heal. But the medicine is to look forward to unity and reconciliation, not to turn to the failed policies of the past.

ISIL flourishes when Iraq is weak, and Iraq is weak when it is divided by sectarian politics and when political patronage overtakes national loyalty. My unyielding optimism for the country, however, stems from the spirit of the ordinary Iraqi people, those who stood up to defend their country in the summer of last year, those who went out to vote despite car bombs and terrorist attacks, those Iraqis who do not care whether someone is Shia, Sunni, Christian, Yazidi, Kurd, Arab or from any other community. It is the overwhelming majority of ordinary Iraqis who have no foreign country to flee to, no foreign passport to rely on. Those are the men and women who will build a new Iraq. What we in the international community can and must do is to help them succeed. We must support them in building democracy, without which the majority of Iraqis will not feel secure, nor will their human rights be protected. We must work with them to achieve a balance among their diverse communities inside the country, because without balance violence and extremism will persist. We must assist them in ensuring justice, not reprisal, for the crimes of the past and violations of today. Finally, we must grant the people of Iraq the respect and dignity that they deserve. That is the noble mission of the United Nations in Iraq.

Allow me to thank Council members' Governments and the Secretary-General for the unity that they have shown in supporting Iraq, for the unyielding support for UNAMI and for the trust they have placed in me to lead this difficult Mission. I also want to express my

deep gratitude to my colleagues in the Mission, in the Secretariat and in the United Nations country team for their commitment, bravery and hard work throughout the years. And I would like to thank the Government and the people of Iraq for the hospitality that they have extended to me, for their friendship and for their daily courage to never give up in the face of terror. It has been an honour serving as the Secretary-General's Representative for Iraq.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): I thank Mr. Mladenov for his briefing.

I now give the floor to the representative of Iraq.

Mr. Alhakim (Iraq) (*spoke in Arabic*): At the outset, allow me to express my congratulations to the People's Republic of China on assuming the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I also pay tribute to the Permanent Mission of Chile for its skilful presidency of the Council last month. And I thank Mr. Nickolay Mladenov for his important and comprehensive briefing.

The Government and the people of Iraq express their appreciation to the Russian Federation, China, the United Kingdom, the United States and all the other members of the Council for adopting resolution 2199 (2015) under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, with the aim of drying up the financial resources of terrorist gangs.

The report of the Secretary-General (S/2015/82) positively and objectively places the spotlight on developments in Iraq and on the achievements of the Government of Prime Minister Haider Al Abadi since the vote of confidence last August, which illustrates the commitment of the Government of Iraq to make progress on the programmes agreed for the first six months, in spite of the security, humanitarian and economic challenges facing Iraq, so as to ensure equality and the rule of law, fight corruption and improve relations with all States of the region and the world — with combating the terrorist group Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) at the top of its priorities.

In the context of promoting internal political stability, the Council of Representatives approved the 2015 federal budget bill. This is a fundamental step in revitalizing Iraq's economy. It is also a manifestation of political agreements that reflect the Iraqi polity's acknowledgment of the responsibility it bears at the current critical stage in Iraq.

The Government of Iraq continues to promote national reconciliation on a number of fronts. The Government has held intensive contacts with political leaders, clans and religious authorities of all sects with a view to reconciliation, renewing national bonds and sending out a message of unity to the effect that the national interest is paramount. Everyone believes that cooperation among the Iraqi armed forces, the Peshmerga, the Popular Movement and the clans in the combat against ISIL is important and essential.

The Government has completed the drafting of a law creating the national guard and has submitted it to Parliament. It represents an opportunity for the members of the clans and the national movements to defend their cities in all governorates. Furthermore, during the same period, an important political agreement was reached between the central Government and the Government of the Kurdistan region pertaining to the distribution of natural resources in Iraq to all the Iraqi people in a just manner, which is a fundamental step in the right direction. It is a commitment made with Kurdistan as a fundamental partner in the homeland, which will pave the way to a long-term agreement.

In the context of promoting the rule of law and combatting corruption, the Government has taken administrative, legislative and judicial reform measures aimed at uniting ranks and spreading a spirit of equality and justice to all citizens. The Government is now reviewing all Governmental sectors in order to pinpoint corruption and undertake necessary reforms, including the prosecution of some military leaders, in order to create an atmosphere that would bring in foreign investment to develop commercial opportunities in the country and help in reconstruction. Furthermore, the law on accountability and justice was reviewed and referred to Parliament in order to reintegrate many Government officials who had not committed any crimes against the Iraqi people. This is, again, an attempt at creating a united front.

A law has been signed that commits the security forces and the justice ministry to protecting the human rights of detainees in Iraqi prisons, including a central register of all detainees, together with the reason for their detention and a time frame for prosecution. Paragraph 51 of the report of the Secretary-General refers to reports of some incidents related to breaches by some armed units, and the Prime Minister has adopted an executive order to set up an investigative committee on these events.

We stress once again the importance of the commitment of all Member States to the implementation of resolutions 2170 (2014), 2178 (2014) and 2199 (2014) on combatting terrorism and drying up its sources of financing. There is no alternative to international cooperation to combat terrorism, and many occasions have proven that no State is safe from the threat of terrorism. We look forward to seeing the role being played more effectively, particularly by neighbouring countries, in terms of cooperation, intelligence sharing and border control, because these terrorist groups have desecrated all human values. They have committed the most heinous criminal terrorist acts against the Iraqi people, whether Shiite, Sunni, Christian, Turkmen, Shabak or Yazidi.

Those acts are in fact crimes of genocide committed against humankind whose perpetrators must be held accountable before international justice, without even mentioning the trafficking in human organs and the theft of and trafficking in archeological items and oil. The Iraqi armed forces and the Kurdish Peshmerga forces, in cooperation with the popular forces, in coordination with the clans and with an international support, will undertake combatting terrorism. However, we require still more assistance if we are to overcome ISIL.

The protection of civilians is a fundamental responsibility of the Iraqi Government. Terrorism has displaced 2 million people from their homes, in addition to the Syrian refugees being hosted by Iraq, who number about 250,000. Therefore, the Government, in cooperation with the United Nations and other organizations working in the field, is providing for humanitarian needs to lessen the suffering of those internally displaced persons (IDPs) and refugees and facilitate their return to their homes after their liberation from the terrorism of ISIL. The Government has set aside \$1 billion for 2014 and \$1 billion in the federal budget for 2015 to help IDPs. Iraq continues to require the support of the international community to take on the humanitarian crisis raised by the ISIL terrorist entity and to help Iraq confront humanitarian needs, particularly in the winter with very low temperatures and very harsh living conditions.

This year 2015 will be critical to the Iraqi Government's effort to liberate all the areas under ISIL's control, with the assistance of the international coalition which is fighting side by side with us against ISIL. Iraq continues to require assistance to reconstruct liberated areas that have been gravely degraded by

terrorists and to assist IDPs in returning and creating livelihoods. Therefore, Iraq has frequently raised the possibility of creating a fund to reconstruct areas in northern and western Iraq.

With respect to relations with countries of the region, Iraq is continuing to promote relations with all its neighbours in order to coordinate efforts to combat terrorism more effectively. The Prime Minister lately visited the State of Kuwait, Iran, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Turkey and the United Arab Emirates, and the President has visited both Saudi Arabia and Qatar. These visits led to agreements to strengthen security cooperation and intelligence sharing in order to defeat the ISIL terrorist entity and review plans to promote cooperation in the areas of economy, oil, investments, trade and the defence of our common borders. Furthermore, the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister were present at the conferences on counter-terrorism held in Brussels, London and Berlin.

Iraq looks forward to developing relations with the State of Kuwait. We value Kuwait's positions in support of Iraq. We thank the State of Kuwait for understanding the very difficult economic conditions prevailing in Iraq because of the war against the terrorist entity ISIL. We value its cooperation to restitute 5 per cent of Iraqi oil export revenues for 2015. Iraq is keen to continue making strong efforts to find and identify the remains

of disappeared Kuwaiti persons and the national Kuwaiti archives.

My Government is making every effort to go forward on the democratic path to protect the achievements of democracy under the Constitution, whether through reforming the Government, national reconciliation, combatting ISIL and freeing areas under its control and strengthening relations with neighbouring countries. We value the role of the international coalition led by the United States and permanent Member States of the Security Council, as well as Arab States. We also value the efforts of the United Nations and UNAMI to provide advice and support to the Iraqi Government. We pay tribute to them for their courage in continuing to provide humanitarian assistance even under the difficult conditions prevailing in my country. We cannot fail to renew our thanks and appreciation to Mr. Mladenov for his commitment and his strong efforts to assist Iraq during his mandate as the head of UNAMI. Allow me to express our best wishes for him in his future functions.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): There are no more speakers inscribed on my list.

I now invite Council members to informal consultations to continue our discussion on this subject.

The meeting rose at 10.40 a.m.